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ference between affluent squire and penniless peasant, there was a great human stir in Poland. It felt good, being there and talking to people, even if I had only forty words of Polish, carefully memorized from a piece of paper, and supplemented with German when there was somebody present who could understand that language, as there usually was. Everybody had a share in at least three great ideas. There was the dream of economic improvement, no longer wholly a dream. Then there was the ideal of nationhood, unfortunately too irrationally cherished, as was very natural in view of the people's past. And finally there was the mystical solidarity of the Christian (or the Jewish) community, real and vital though encrusted no doubt with what some would call poetry and others superstition. One could see a good deal of the ugly passions of the illiterate and the prejudiced. But there were also the great loves which Ladislas Reymont has described: love of the tiller for the soil, of the boys for the girls, of a people for the Virgin Mary, full of grace and goodness.

And now? I repeat. It is not tragedy that has thrown a black blanket over all this. It is just that the iron heel has come down behind the iron curtain. Here are the unadorned population statistics of the "People's Democracies" as they were available prior to World War II:

Bulgaria	6,106,000	Poland	31,000,000
Czechoslovakia	14,726,000	Rumania	18,025,277
Hungary	8,683,000	East Germany (census of 1946)	17,313,734

In addition, here are the statistics for the Baltic States absorbed by Russia:

Estonia	1,114,900
Latvia	1,900,045
Lithuania	2,361,142

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• 16/ These figures are subject to correction, but are adequate for the present purpose. They indicate that the population of Stamford, Connecticut, could be multiplied into this total subjected European population about fourteen hundred times. That is, every man, woman, and child in such a community has fourteen hundred counterparts over there. Fourteen hundred Stamfords with its schools and churches, its jails and railroad station, its doctors and lawyers, its butchers and bakers, its little children and its grandfathers—all of them, every day and every night, first under the heel of Hitler and then under the heel of Stalin.

668 And every living soul has been steeped in a bath of propaganda for twelve years, one version being that there exists a master race, and another that "Anglo-American imperialism" does an endless series of misdeeds, such as sending potato bugs to Eastern Germany and disease-spreading insects to Korea. He may not believe all this, but he must not say so even to himself.

For the nerve center of this propaganda is terror. The Communist always begins with the devices of infiltration. These he is taught to handle adroitly. He can take over a labor union almost before its members suspect that he has any desire to do so. In the presence of liberals he can be a boon companion, and discreetly assent to his neighbor's views about Whitehead or St. Thomas Aquinas. But when the Russian Army is on hand to support him he is camouflaged only moderately. Everyone knows that his bosses have arrived from Moscow after a period of intensive training. But so long as "imperialist powers" are in relative control he appreciates each and every opportunity to pretend that he is some one else.

668 697 He uses the radio and the newspaper, the friendly gathering of citizens, and the picture magazine. But the instrumentalities upon which he really relies are the secret police and the concentration camp. The police are not primarily there to ferret out plots. It is their business to cajole a vast army of informers

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'STANDARD' AND 'SURPLUS' AGRICULTURAL POPULATIONS, EASTERN EUROPE, AROUND 1930

	Population Dependent on Agriculture	*'Standard' Population*	*'Surplus' Population*	
	000's omitted	000's omitted	*Number* 000's omitted	*Per cent*
Czechoslovakia ..	4,812	5,038	—226	—4.7
Hungary	4,472	3,471	1,001	22.4
Poland	19,347	9,425	9,922	51.3
Rumania	13,069	6,348	6,721	51.4
Bulgaria	4,088	1,921	2,167	53.0
Yugoslavia ..	10,629	4,097	6,532	61.5
Albania	800	178	622	77.7
Total	57,217	30,478	26,739	46.7

(op. cit. pp. 63-4).

46.7 per cent, nearly half the agricultural population of Eastern Europe, is 'surplus' population.

Out of its active population, employable in industry and services, agriculture can dispense with about 12 million people.

This calculation of W. E. Moore is based on the assumption that if the average level of production of agricultural goods for Europe as a whole were to prevail in Eastern Europe, there would be a surplus population of 26.7 million, of whom 12 million would be employable. But if it is assumed that the level of output remains unaltered, then the resulting calculation of surplus employable population will be different. Such a calculation was made by PEP which estimates that in 1937 the agricultural overpopulation in the Eastern European countries was 14-15 million (i.e., about half W. E. Moore's figure) of which about 6 million were employable in industry and services.

The war led to a considerable change as regards the 'surplus' agricultural population in Poland. The population of Poland dropped from an estimated 35,090,000 in 1938 to an estimated 23,800,000 in 1948, as a result of the killing of 6 million inhabitants by the Nazis and changes in the eastern frontiers which transferred 6 million Ukrainians and White Russians to the U.S.S.R. About 32,100,000 people lived within the present frontiers before the war. It seems, therefore, that Poland has 'solved' the problem and may be excluded from the list of countries with an agricultural overpopulation. Even so the overpopulation in the countries of Eastern Europe as a whole remains a vast problem: according to W. E. Moore there is a

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'surplus' agricultural population of 17 million, according to PEP, 9 million.

Another factor is the natural increase of population. Eastern Europe is undergoing the so-called 'vital revolution'—more precisely its first half. During this stage (through which Western Europe passed during the nineteenth century) the death rate declines steeply (as a result of better hygienic conditions, etc.), while the birth rate does not fall. The natural increase of population is therefore very high. In the second half of the 'vital revolution' the birth rate falls quickly (the stage which Western Europe has reached). Today the annual increase of population is three times higher in the East than in the West of Europe. Only after the majority of the population has been urbanised (with the resulting increase in the use of birth control) will Eastern Europe get over the first half of the vital revolution. Meanwhile, according to the PEP study, there is in Eastern Europe an annual increase of 610 thousand people of working age, employable in industry and services (free professions, etc.). They will have to be absorbed in the course of industrial development, as well as the present 6 or so million surplus agricultural population. The dimensions of the problem will be appreciated when it is realised that the estimated annual intake into mining and manufacturing industry in the years 1935-7 in these countries was only 270 thousand. If there were an annual intake of 700 thousand into mining and manufacturing industry and services, it would take two generations merely to absorb the surplus agricultural population, without lowering the density of the agricultural population to the level prevailing in Western Europe.

Even this modest industrialistion would require vast capital expenditure. K. Mandelbaum in his book *The Industrialisation of Backward Areas*, Oxford, 1945, estimated the capital requirement per newly employed worker in modern large scale industry in Eastern Europe at £450. In calculating the total cost of the industrialisation of East Europe, account must also be taken of investments needed in public utilities connected with industrialisation (houses, roads, electricity, gas and water supply, etc.), which would, at least, double the amount. On this basis the employment of 700 thousand additional people per year would require about £600-650 million (in pre-war